UNITED NATIONS

A

General Assembly

Distr.
GENERAL

A/AC.115/PV.666
22 June 1993

ENGLISH

SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 666th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 16 June 1993, at 10.30 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria)

CONTENTS

- Solemn meeting in observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (Soweto Day)

This record is subject to correction.

Corrections should be submitted in one of the working languages, preferably in the same language as the text to which they refer. They should be set forth in a memorandum and also, if possible, incorporated in a copy of the record. They should be sent, within one week of the date of this document, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Office of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza.

Any corrections to the record of this meeting and of other meetings will be issued in a corrigendum.

93-86095 4651V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.55 a.m.

SOLEMN MEETING IN OBSERVANCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLING PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA (SOWETO DAY)

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid, I welcome the President of the General Assembly, the President of the Security Council and the representative of the Secretary-General. I also welcome the representatives of States Members of the United Nations who have joined us today.

Today's observance marks the seventeenth anniversary of the student uprising in Soweto and other townships in South Africa in 1976, when hundreds of students and schoolchildren were shot dead and many others injured. In observing this Day in past years, the international community sought to offer solidarity and support to those South Africans who suffered deprivation because of the obnoxious racial policies of apartheid.

This year's observance is being marked within a different context - indeed, amidst a markedly changed political setting in South Africa. Today's observance is taking place at a time of hope for all South Africans irrespective of their race.

In recognising those who have made the supreme sacrifice, those who suffered deprivation under the apartheid system and, particularly, victims of the Soweto massacre, I invite participants to rise and observe a minute of silence.

The participants observed a minute of silence.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the pleasure and the honour of inviting the President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Stoyan Ganev of Bulgaria, to address the Committee.

Mr. GANEV (Bulgaria), President of the General Assembly: We come here today once again to express our solidarity with those who fearlessly struggled in South Africa to bring an end to apartheid. Today we pay a tribute to the victims of the Soweto massacre - indeed to all victims of apartheid - as well as to all those who have survived the struggle to see the approach of the day of a new South Africa. That struggle, combined with a strong world-wide anti-apartheid movement and the effects of the sanctions imposed by the international community, created the conditions that make the peaceful process of dismantling apartheid possible.

The observance of this Day is taking place in conjunction with significant political changes in South Africa. Many of those changes give reason for optimism and fresh hope that a non-racial and democratic South Africa will soon be a reality.

A speedy political settlement in that country is essential if South Africans are to be able to address decisively the socio-economic imbalances resulting from decades of apartheid and to return to the path of sustained economic growth. Moreover, a political settlement will set South Africa on the road towards the complete normalization of relations with the rest of the world, opening up avenues for investment and financial aid.

South Africa will now enter a qualitatively new stage in its transformation: a period of preparation for democratic elections. The elections will mark South Africa's first clean break with its apartheid past, since all citizens, without discrimination, will for the first time be allowed to vote. This will be a most crucial and sensitive period in the history of the country, given the political tensions, the ongoing violence and the complexity of the socio-economic situation. We urge all South African political leaders who want peace for their society to do their best to ensure

(Mr. Ganev, President of the General Assembly)

that the first non-racial election is legitimate. This period also requires commitment and dedication from every member of South African society. Political tolerance and the promotion of peace, security and human rights are essential for the successful, peaceful transformation of the country as a whole.

While recent developments in the political life of South Africa inspire optimism, we all know only too well how many times high expectations have been replaced with deep disappointment. The continuing violence and the dismal socio-economic situation still threaten the process of political settlement. It is therefore imperative for the international community to continue to support the ongoing process in South Africa.

In line with the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by the General Assembly by consensus in December 1989, the solidarity of the international community with the people of South Africa must encompass both political support and assistance in addressing socio-economic problems. We must remain steadfast in our commitment to the objectives of the Declaration in order to ensure peace and progress in South Africa.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the honour to invite His Excellency Don Juan Antonio Yañez Barnuevo of Spain, President of the Security Council, to make a statement.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain), President of the Security Council (interpretation from Spanish): Permit me first of all to thank the members of the Special Committee against Apartheid for inviting me, in my capacity as President of the Security Council, to participate in the observance of the

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, President of the Security Council)

International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa - Soweto Day.

Today's observance commemorates the seventeenth anniversary of the tragic occurrence that befell the people of South Africa on 16 June 1976. The enormity of that tragedy reinforced the resolve of the international community to intensify the process of eradicating the apartheid system.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, President of the Security Council)

Over the past three years, we have witnessed the strenuous efforts of the people of South Africa to achieve peacefully constitutional change for the establishment of a non-racial and democratic South Africa. The increasing violence has had a negative impact on the negotiating process and underscores the need to continue and intensify that process. I should like to underline the determination of the Security Council to support, inter alia, through tangible measures - as witnessed by resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992) - the efforts of the South African people to establish a democratic, united and non-racial society. The Council will continue to play its role in this regard until that objective has been attained.

The Security Council is determined to assist the people of South Africa to end violence, the continuation of which would seriously jeopardize peace and security in the region. In a statement made on 12 April 1993, following the assassination of Chris Hani, the Council welcomed the announcements by all those who had reaffirmed their commitment to the negotiating process and stressed that negotiations leading to non-racial democracy must not be held hostage by the perpetrators of violence.

The members of the Council urge that no effort be spared to bring an end to the violence in South Africa and to create a political climate favourable to the continuation of peaceful and constructive negotiations to create a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. They note that the provisional agreement on the date of the first non-racial and democratic elections in South Africa is a very welcome development that brings new focus to the negotiating process.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, President of the Security Council)

I can assure you that the Security Council is determined to remain supportive of efforts to facilitate the peaceful transition to a non-racial democracy for the benefit of all South Africans. The Security Council will continue to follow the situation in South Africa closely and will maintain support for all constructive efforts of the South African people to establish a democratic, non-racial and united country that will find its rightful place in the international community.

The CHAIRMAN: Our Secretary-General is unable to join us today owing to other pressing commitments outside of New York. He is, however, represented by Under-Secretary-General James Jonah. It is my honour and pleasure to invite Mr. Jonah to make a statement on behalf of the Secretary-General.

Mr. JONAH (Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs): It gives me great pleasure to read out a message from the Secretary-General:

"The International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa is being observed today at a time of important political developments in South Africa, a time when despite difficulties the prospects for the establishment of a non-racial democracy in the country are most encouraging. A date for the first non-racial multiparty elections has now been provisionally agreed on and I have been informed that the first broad-based multiracial governing body - a transitional executive council - is expected to be put in place within weeks. I urge all parties to make every effort to reach agreement on the issues that remain, and to do everything possible to facilitate the long-awaited establishment of a broad-based Government in South Africa.

(Mr. Jonah, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs)

"One of the most immediate challenges which South Africans now face is the task of putting an end to the present widespread violence and disorder. Achieving this objective will require goodwill and courage as well as a strong determination by all parties to work for peace. The creation of a peaceful political climate is essential if democracy is to take root and to grow, and it is a vital precondition for meaningful progress in addressing the serious socio-economic problems which South Africa now faces.

"The goal of a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa is and must remain one of the highest priorities of the international community. While we have confidence in the ability of South Africans to create a democratic and non-racial future for themselves, we do realize the complexity of the situation in the country and we understand that the people of South Africa need the support and assistance of the international community. The United Nations will continue to provide such support and to work towards the peaceful and democratic transformation of South Africa.

"As many are aware, the United Nations is already extensively involved in South Africa. This involvement includes the decision taken last year by the Security Council, the efforts of my three Special Envoys to South Africa, the deployment of the United Nations Observer Mission to South Africa and the establishment of an office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. It is widely agreed that these measures have had a salutary effect on the political situation in the country and that they have helped to promote and advance the peace process. The

(Mr. Jonah, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs)

United Nations is firmly committed to the continuation of such assistance until a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa is established.

"In a world full of conflicts and crises, recent developments in South Africa have been most encouraging. The peaceful resolution of the conflict in South Africa would be an encouraging example for others and an important lesson to all. Its benefits would be felt not only by the people of South Africa, but also by millions of people far beyond South Africa's borders."

The CHAIRMAN: I should now like to make a statement on behalf of the Special Committee against Apartheid.

The Special Committee against Apartheid has held numerous meetings over the years to observe days especially designated to commemorate the long struggle of the majority of the people of South Africa to attain its goals of peace, justice and equality for every South African man, woman and child. This year's observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa takes place amidst feelings of renewed hope. Despite numerous setbacks, one as late as yesterday, political negotiations in South Africa seem to be moving ahead. It is tremendously encouraging that a date for non-racial and democratic elections has been provisionally agreed on - 27 April 1993 - and that setting up a transitional executive council also seems to have been tentatively agreed on, at least in principle. Setting a date for elections allows South Africans to focus their energies on resolving the outstanding questions and to channel their frustration into political action to support that goal.

(The Chairman)

Although still provisional, the first one-man, one-vote non-racial elections in South Africa will mark the beginning of an interim government of national unity. This democratically elected body will serve as the first post-apartheid parliament and will adopt a democratic constitution reflecting the goals and dreams of all South Africans. And once the transitional executive council is operational, the transition can be said to have begun in earnest.

(The Chairman)

A deep feeling of panic and grief swept across South Africa when a respected and revered political leader was gunned down by forces determined to upset the peace process. The shocking assassination of Chris Hani reminded us how fragile are the lives of the leaders of those who are struggling to end apartheid. It also brought to mind the fragility of the political settlement process, which might easily be disrupted by elements trying to block democratic solutions for their own short-sighted goals. The death of beloved African National Congress (ANC) leader Oliver Tambo has also deprived South Africans of the continuing inspiration and guidance of a great leader. His vision contributed to the foundation for multi-party negotiations, which are now taking place.

The provocative arrests of leaders and members of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) by the South African police on 25 May threatened to undermine any progress achieved in the overall negotiating process. This act was widely viewed as the work of those in the South African Government who wanted to damage the negotiation process. The raid caused outrage both in South Africa and abroad, and it was promptly and strongly denounced by the Special Committee against Apartheid.

In spite of these setbacks, the leaders of the South African liberation movements, in a display of courage and resilience, have decided to continue with the task of searching for an early political solution with renewed vigour and determination. We urge all parties to work within the multi-party framework with the sense of responsibility and urgency that the present situation in South Africa requires.

Today we pause and reflect on the events of 16 June, which is also known as Soweto Day. We pay tribute to the young martyrs who, 17 years ago, made

(The Chairman)

the ultimate sacrifice - their lives - to fight for what they believed in. As everyone here knows, in the protest marches and rallies of 1976 students demanded an end to their discriminatory education, and they specifically demanded to be allowed to be taught in the language of their choice. The apartheid system tried to force black South Africans to take their schooling in Afrikaans, which blacks consider to be the language of the oppressor. Opposition to the Bantu education policy had been growing in Soweto schools. Protesting students were indiscriminately fired at by South African security forces, killing hundreds and injuring many others. The explosion that started in Soweto was heard in every part of South Africa and throughout the world. That fateful day has never been forgotten and is deeply etched in the hearts and souls of so many South Africans, young and old.

Although the Soweto massacre might seem to have happened in some distant past, recent events involving youths, students' groups and teachers' organizations are reminiscent of what happened in Soweto many years ago. The imposition in December of a 72-rand, or $32, fee for high school students taking their graduation exam touched off several school boycotts and demonstrations. Students demanded such fees be scrapped. On 20 May of this year, the Department of Education and Training announced the suspension of the mandatory fees for the November 1993 matriculation exams. Meanwhile, teachers are protesting wage increases of less than half the inflation rate while both students and teachers want better educational facilities. There is concern once again that this will be another disappointing year when it comes to the education of large numbers of disadvantaged students.

The education of the black majority in South Africa is one of the legacies of apartheid. Decades of the apartheid system of education continue

(The Chairman)

to oppress and frustrate black South African students and their teachers. The Government still spends four times more on a white student than on a black student. Today's youth is the product of a system where schooling has been disrupted and underfunded for decades and where discrimination in housing, health and employment is part of everyday existence. It is essential that all South Africans acquire the ability and necessary skills to participate fully in the economy, development, and transformation of their society.

Although a provisional date for non-racial elections has been announced and the establishment of transitional structures seems to be at hand, the challenge that lies ahead is in the orderly transition to a durable and sustainable democratic society which would uphold basic human rights for all South Africans of all races. There still exist numerous obstacles which could frustrate smooth negotiations. The threat of violence continues, as some elements determined to sabotage the political process are willing to resort to desperate measures to attain their objectives, especially at this point, when an interim Government is within reach.

The Special Committee supports the political negotiations, as they are the only peaceful means of reaching a settlement that would be acceptable to the majority of the citizens of South Africa while at the same time safeguarding the rights of minority groups. It is only through a peaceful settlement that the final dream of a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa can be realized.

The Special Committee, in doing its part to facilitate a peaceful and stable transition in South Africa, seeks to promote international assistance in helping South Africans overcome the social and economic disparities resulting from the policies of apartheid.

(The Chairman)

After the conclusive defeat of apartheid comes the really hard part: the reconstruction of a just South Africa. The tasks and problems the country faces after apartheid would be no less daunting: constitution-writing, nation-building, the glaring socio-economic inequities South Africans will expect a new Government to fix and other obstacles entrenched in the system by many long years of apartheid. The Special Committee has always been of the view that it is the moral responsibility of the international community to continue to assist fully the South African people on their long road to building a strong and prosperous nation. In building a new South Africa, the assistance of the international community will be crucial for enhancing the prospects for peace, progress and stability during the transition period and beyond.

General Assembly resolution 47/116 B authorizes the Special Committee to follow up on the 1992 Windhoek Seminar on South Africa's socio-economic problems, through sectoral meetings on specific topics. Proposed areas of discussion are the needs and potential of the economy, mobilization of domestic and external financial resources, reconstructing the domestic economy and the process of economic policy-making under a new democratic Government.

Many South Africans argue that there are certain aspects of their national life which cannot await the end of the negotiating process and which need to be dealt with immediately. There are literally thousands of urgent needs, an appalling backlog left by systematic neglect, exclusion and repression, and these gaps will not quickly be filled, even with the best efforts of domestic and foreign initiatives. Many international non-governmental organizations with experience in community-based development cooperation from, among other places, neighbouring countries, are interested

(The Chairman)

in working directly with rural and township groups in South Africa to tackle those needs at the grass-roots level.

Responding to this interest, the Special Committee will this year hold non-governmental-organization consultations which will focus on the social and economic development needs of rural and township communities in South Africa and the role of international non-governmental organizations in helping them meet these needs. The goal of the consultations will be to contribute to the development of an agenda of cooperation in direct response to the priorities of disadvantaged communities; provide an opportunity to discuss the potential of the international non-governmental-organization community to assist with resource mobilization and the optimal use of resources that can be made available; and further develop ongoing partnerships and promote new ones in that process.

On the occasion of the solemn observance of this Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa, the Special Committee against Apartheid once again appeals to all Member States and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to reaffirm their support for the South African people in the attainment of their just goals of total liberation and reconstruction. We must work steadfastly with them to the last mile, until apartheid is dead and buried and the country embarks on the monumental tasks of reconstruction and redressing legacies of racism and racist oppression which the majority of the people of South Africa have endured for far too long.

I now wish to invite the Chairman of the African Group at the United Nations, His Excellency Ambassador Pennaneach of Togo, to address this meeting.

Mr. PENNANEACH (Togo) (interpretation from French): This morning we are commemorating the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa. As you, Sir, have stressed, this Day is also known as Soweto Day. The symbol of Soweto Day is very important in the history of the South African people. This celebration gives us an opportunity today to recall that despite the changes that have taken place apartheid is still not dead; its stigmata still exist. The policy of apartheid is still one of the most serious violations of the fundamental universal principles of human rights. The news that reaches us daily from South Africa indicates that these violations constitute a threat to peace and security and stability in the subregion.

This Day also reminds us of the magnitude of the struggle that has constantly been waged by the people of South Africa for decades now against apartheid, that institutionalized, particularly obnoxious form of racial discrimination. The African Group, which I represent today, takes this opportunity to renew its strong, total support for this just and legitimate struggle.

This is also an occasion to recall that the General Assembly, in a positive spirit, acted in keeping with the international consensus that had emerged in its unanimous adoption in 1989 of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa (resolution S-16/1). By that resolution the international community set down the basis for a peaceful negotiating process.

The efforts of the African Group at the United Nations have also been conducive to this consensus. That is why it will continue to spare no effort strongly to support the process of a peaceful political settlement. We believe that the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, must

(Mr. Pennaneach, Togo)

continue actively to promote the negotiating process in South Africa in order to bring about the establishment of democracy through free elections and the adoption of a new constitution. It seems clear to us that any further delay in the process would have adverse consequences.

On the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa we pay tribute to South African women, who have seen scant improvement in their lives despite the progress that has been achieved. Women and children continue to be the defenceless victims of the violence that we see in South Africa. We cannot forget the untold sufferings of this segment of the population. While it is true that there is still a long way to go, despite the progress that has been made, we should not give up. The struggle against apartheid is one of the great challenges requiring the ongoing attention and efforts of the whole international community. We are convinced that only a speedy, negotiated political solution will make it possible to provide the necessary conditions for the eradication of apartheid and the elimination of violence in South Africa.

We sincerely hope that all the political leaders involved in the negotiations will demonstrate the political will to reach an agreement acceptable to all parties. It is also important that, in the common interest, love of the fatherland and devotion to democracy should in the near future replace futile fratricidal quarrels.

In conclusion, we are very honoured to see so many people at this ceremony. On behalf of the African delegations, I take this opportunity to thank the Special Committee against Apartheid and you, Sir, for the important work you have constantly done over the years in discharging your mandate.

The CHAIRMAN: I now invite the representative of the African National Congress to make a statement.

Mr. MAFOLE (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): It is now 17 years to the day since Soweto, a sprawling collection of otherwise little-known townships on the periphery of South Africa's industrial heartland, was catapulted into international prominence. On that fateful morning of 16 June little did the protesting black students in Soweto and elsewhere realize that a terrified and vengeful racist regime was about to engulf the country in much bloodshed and carnage, leaving hundreds dead and thus precipitating a crisis of monumental dimensions. Thus, in the annals of our history, Soweto will join Sharpeville, Bullhoek and many other places across South Africa where the apartheid tyrant saw fit to answer the people's legitimate demands with a hail of bullets. Indeed, more place names have since joined Soweto: Bisho and Boipatong. The list is long, too long.

Yet to remember Soweto merely as that gruesome episode in South Africa's history, when defenceless youths were callously murdered, would be to miss the point. Indeed, to do so would be to fail to place in proper context the singular contribution of the uprisings of Soweto in the struggle for national liberation in South Africa.

In June 1976 the youth of Soweto drew a line in the sand and defied the strongest and most ruthless military Power in the southern hemisphere, and for that they paid a heavy price in life and limb. Their heroism and sacrifice served not only to energize the democratic forces in South Africa, but also to intensify the struggle and widen its scope. In every aspect of the struggle - whether in the armed wing of the national liberation movement, the trade union movement, civic organizations or women's organizations - the Soweto generation was to be found in the front ranks. Therefore, as we gather here today in

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

solemn remembrance of one of the worst tragedies in South Africa's political history, we must also acknowledge that if it might seem that our country today stands on the threshold of an important political dispensation, it is thanks in no small measure to the heroes and heroines of Soweto.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

The African National Congress and the people of South Africa remain highly indebted to the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid for their efforts to ensure the annual observance of this Day and for their consistent support to our people in their quest for freedom.

The ANC strongly believes that the greatest tribute that can be paid to the martyrs of Soweto and all the other patriots who have given their lives in the struggle for freedom is the final elimination of apartheid and the creation in its place of a democratic order that will ensure, once and for all, that there are no more Sharpevilles, no more Soweto massacres, no more Boipatongs. But in order to attain that objective we believe that a sense of urgency has to be injected into the process of negotiations currently under way so that agreements are reached speedily on outstanding fundamental questions. Failure to do this would not only amount to a betrayal of those who have sacrificed but, more ominously, could well result in the degeneration of the country into complete chaos.

More specifically, the ANC is eager for rapid progress in the negotiations in the following areas: There should be agreement on the constitutional principles that would constitute a basis for a democratic constitution. There should be agreement by 30 June this year on an interim constitution. A transitional executive council and its sub-structures should be installed to help level the playing field in readiness for the elections to be held on 27 April 1994. An independent electoral commission has to be appointed in order for it to prepare for conducting the elections. An independent media commission too should be appointed to ensure equal access to State-owned radio and television by all the political forces in our country.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

Those are the perspectives of the ANC; in our view, when these are realized they will constitute an important milestone on the path to a new democratic order in our country.

In expressing confidence in the positive outcome of the negotiations, our position should not be misconstrued as underestimating the difficulties lying ahead. On the contrary, we are painfully aware of the enormous obstacles that must be surmounted. Some of the challenges facing us are the following.

The first is violence. It is common knowledge that violence has been wreaking havoc in certain parts of the country, especially in Natal and Witwatersrand. It is ironic that this spiral of violence commenced and grew in intensity precisely around the time the negotiations started. Furthermore, it has been observed that violence would erupt whenever a breakthrough was about to be reached in the negotiations. Clearly, this violence cannot be characterized as anything but an orchestrated campaign by the elements opposed to the negotiating process. That campaign is aimed at discouraging the various political forces from seeking a peaceful solution to the country's political problems precisely because the violent elements cannot see their views gaining currency.

The second problem that will no doubt adversely affect the negotiating process is the growth of right-wing extremist groups in South Africa. This poses a serious threat to the negotiations. These groups have already served notice that, should they not get satisfaction in their quest for a separate whites-only territory, they will engage in disruptions on a massive scale, and even plunge the country into a bloody civil war. It should be remembered that the South African white community has for many years been armed to the teeth.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

Consider the case of Mr. Walus, the assassin of ANC National Executive member Chris Hani. After only a few years in South Africa, this Walus was for some strange reason able to procure four firearms licences - record time even by South African standards.

The third problem confronting us is the activities of certain elements within the Government; these can leave us with no doubt as to their staunch opposition to the process of negotiations. This has manifested itself on numerous occasions when it was apparent that significant progress was being made in the negotiations; suddenly some Cabinet Minister would engage in actions that appeared to scuttle the negotiations. The massacre of innocent people at Boipatong was just such an action. The assassination of Chris Hani could be seen as an additional threat.

The latest example of this was the unwarranted arrest of officials and executives of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), coming as it did just when there was to be agreement on the date for the first-ever democratic elections in the history of South Africa.

The ANC recognizes that the task of ending violence in South Africa is primarily the task of the South Africans themselves. To that end the ANC has sought to do all in its power to bring about a resolution of this conflict. These measures include: full participation by the ANC in efforts undertaken under the National Peace Accord and full participation in the various dispute-resolution agencies at the local, regional and national levels. When necessary, the ANC has addressed the issue of violence on a bilateral level, as is the case with regard to Chief Buthelezi's IFP. But even as we continue to exercise our responsibility, we feel that the international community can greatly assist in the process.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

Under these circumstances, it would seem that the United Nations - which by resolutions of the Security Council has already committed itself to address this problem by deploying observers in South Africa - should send a very clear message to those who are responsible for violence in South Africa. As part of that message, the United Nations could, for instance, review the number of personnel on the ground in South Africa with a view to ensuring that they are able to cover a wider area and thus serve as an effective deterrent to violence.

Secondly, the United Nations might wish to strengthen the mandate of the observer mission in South Africa in order to enable it to intervene more effectively in strengthening the structures that have been established in terms of the National Peace Accord and the Goldstone Commission.

Thirdly, the international community could bring pressure to bear on the elements bent on blocking progress in the negotiation exercise. So long as those elements think they can continue to enjoy support in certain international capitals, they will persist in their disruptive activities.

From all that we have said it is fairly obvious that the challenges lying ahead are truly monumental. It is, however, our firm conviction that the people of South Africa have demonstrated their firm resolve to find solutions to these problems. In particular, they are determined to transform their country from an apartheid enclave to a democratic State through free and fair elections, which are to be held on 27 April 1994. We are confident that, towards that objective, agreement will be reached in coming weeks on transitional arrangements paving the way towards an election in which all South Africans will participate towards a new, democratic era.

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

Such a step would clearly have far-reaching effects. For one thing, it would go a long way towards satisfying the requirements of General Assembly resolution 47/116 A, adopted by consensus during the forty-seventh session, which calls for a review of:

"the existing restrictive measures as warranted by positive developments, such as agreement by the parties on transitional arrangements."

(A/RES/47/116 A, para. 12)

In the circumstances, should such an agreement be reached, the impediments to foreign investment in South Africa could cease to apply.

An agreement on transitional arrangements would also necessitate the United Nations to move speedily, in consultation with the parties in South Africa, to put in place an effective machinery that would assist in the electoral process as envisaged in the General Assembly resolution cited earlier. The critical importance of this engagement cannot be overemphasized. The recent experiences of other countries going through the same exercise have amply demonstrated the pivotal role of the United Nations in not only providing technical assistance but also giving legitimacy to the electoral process itself. There can therefore be no doubt that failure to resolve the South African question peacefully will not only have dire consequences for the country itself but will also throw the entire region of southern Africa into turmoil.

In this connection, the decision by the Special Committee to co-sponsor in South Africa, together with the Institute for a Democratic South Africa (IDASA) - a consultation which would, inter alia, address the question of the forthcoming elections, including voter education - should be highly applauded. Furthermore, the United Nations will of necessity have to gear itself towards assisting the people of South Africa in overcoming the legacy

(Mr. Mafole, ANC)

of apartheid. Decades of apartheid policies have rendered South Africa's economy a total shambles. Massive capital inflow will be required to offset the many years of apartheid mismanagement. Apartheid has also taken its toll on the majority of the people of that country, who, because of the education for servitude provided by apartheid, find themselves ill-equipped to meet the onerous challenges of rebuilding the economy of South Africa.

The apartheid policies of education have immensely aggravated the situation. Statistics provided by the research for education show that the total number of drop-outs in 1990 was somewhere in the order of 800,000, which amounted to 10 per cent of the total of close to 10 million people enrolled from primary to high school. The same research has revealed that a mere 0.5 per cent of the students are enrolled in technical colleges in South Africa.

Clearly, therefore, the young generation of South Africans upon whom the task of building the new South Africa rests will require extensive training. In this connection, the resolution of the General Assembly calling upon the United Nations agencies and organs to help in the training of the people of South Africa under the supervision of the Secretary-General is particularly pertinent. The ANC warmly welcomes the consultations among non-governmental organizations proposed by the Special Committee to focus on the issues relating to socio-economic development. It is our firm belief that this exercise will go a long way in identifying and addressing some of the key problems that are facing us today.

To conclude, the emergence of a new South Africa on the ashes of an old apartheid structure will be a Herculean task. The African National Congress nevertheless remains confident that, with the unshaken resolve of our people and the assistance of people of good will world wide, we shall overcome.

The CHAIRMAN: I now have the pleasure to invite the representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania to make his statement.

Mr. PHEKO (Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)): On behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), the true custodian of the national aspirations of the dispossessed people of Azania, I thank the Special Committee against Apartheid for convening this meeting to commemorate the martyrs of the Soweto uprising. I thank the hard-working staff of the Centre against Apartheid and appreciate the understanding they have often shown to our perspective on the South Africa situation.

The PAC is eternally indebted to all States Members of the United Nations that have always supported our struggle against apartheid and colonialism in South Africa. But allow me to take this opportunity to thank some donor countries that have contributed to the education of our people through the United Nations Education and Training Programme for South Africa (UNEPSA). I want them to know that their contributions are deeply appreciated by the PAC and the people of Azania. Some of those countries include Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Japan, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden and the United States of America. We appeal to them to continue the good work of improving the education of the oppressed in South Africa.

Today we remember 1,000 schoolchildren who were slaughtered by the South African police. The first one to fall was Hector Peterson. We remember Steve Biko and Zephania Motupeng, the PAC leader who was sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment for the Soweto uprising. He was released from jail only when one of his lungs had collapsed. Commenting on the Soweto and Sharpeville uprisings, the first President of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), Professor Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe, said:

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

"In Sharpeville we overcame the fear of the consequences of disobeying colonial laws. It became respectable to go to jail and to emerge as what Kwame Nkruma called 'prison graduates'. We stripped the colonialists of that weapon against us. The racists now in Soweto had to fall back on their ultimate weapon: the gun. Soweto has been a lesson in overcoming the fear of the gun, and now that he relies on the gun, and we too can get the gun, confrontation is inevitable."

The South African media and its allies have defended apartheid colonialism for many years in South Africa. They are now engaged in a campaign of distorting the PAC policies. This is not new. We caution those who want to know about the PAC to consult the basic documents of the PAC. The South African media is largely racist and will not tolerate an African organization which challenges white supremacist doctrines that have bedeviled our country for over 300 years.

At its conception in April 1959, the PAC stated some of its aims and objective as being to promote educational and economic advancement of the African people; to fight for the overthrow of white racist settler colonial domination; for the establishment and maintenance of the right to self-determination and for a non-racial society in a unitary State; and to unite and rally the African people into one national front. The fundamental principles which gave birth to the PAC are self-determination, non-racialism, the return of the land to its indigenous owners, and the guaranteeing of individual human rights. The PAC has defined Africans as not only the indigenous Africans but Europeans or others in Azania who owe their only loyalty to Africa and subscribe to African majority rule, which is democracy.

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

The PAC values all life. In war, the PAC distinguishes between civilians and combatants. Commandos on many farms in South Africa are reservists. They are a huge military force in the service of the South African regime. They are well trained and heavily armed, especially in the rural areas, where thousands of them participate in local militias and spy for the South African regime.

The PAC is not involved in so-called "black-on-black" violence. The South African regime is involved in genocidal violence through Buffalo Battalions 31 and 32, Koevoets, other mercenaries and local death squads falsely paraded as "right-wing" or "third-force" to mislead the international community.

The regime has tried to make the PAC its scapegoat. It has blamed victims of apartheid for white civilians killed by the regime's own agents and its collaborators. The Eikenhof incident is a classic example. An innocent and defenceless white woman and her two children were killed, and one of the PAC structures was blamed. After the false propaganda had gone all over the world, the killers were found and identified as the regime's agents and those of its collaborators. Yes, the perpetrators of the Eikenhof incident were arrested. They are not from the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA). The regime knows who they are and must tell the world the truth.

Commenting on the hysteria of the regime's press, an African journalist, Mathatha Tshedu, said:

"As days went by, the news about PAC involvement in the attack became deafening. The PAC leadership must come clean, Kriel ... demanded. ... the PAC said ... it was not its policy to attack women and children. This was seen as an egg dance by the media, which, in the heat

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

of the moment, also took the police cue that the attack bore the hallmarks of APLA strategies .... Then came the arrest of the two suspects and initial police refusal to confirm rumors that the men were not linked to the PAC ....

"What happened to APLA's hallmarks in this attack as police saw them? The same police force which testified before the Goldstone Commission under their guidance was used to reach its conclusions ...".

On 25 May, the South African regime arrested several PAC leaders as being involved in the killing of white farmers. When the arrest of hundreds of PAC members, in typical Nazi style, had been completed, none was found to have killed any white farmers. Instead, to save face, the regime charged members of the PAC National Executive Council - Mr. Jaki Seroke, Secretary for Political Affairs, and Mr. Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, National Organizer and PAC former representative in Australia and Nigeria - with being in possession of unlicensed guns. The truth, however, is that these guns were licensed by one of the agents of the South African regime. The guns were used strictly for self-defence. They were never unlawfully used.

South Africa gives guns to whites but not easily to Africans. Some whites have as many as 28 licensed guns each. The white civilian population in South Africa owns 2.5 million guns. The death of Mr. Chris Hani has clearly shown that the South African regime does not protect African leaders it considers "radical" or "militant". So-called "radical" leaders in South Africa are those who stand and fight for the genuine interests of the victims of apartheid and colonialism.

The regime also arrested Mr. Enoch Zulu, whom it released from Robben Island a year ago, supposedly under the terms of the United Nations

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa of 14 December 1989 (A/RES/S-16/1). Mr. Zulu has now been charged with an offence he is alleged to have committed in 1977. That is even before he served on Robben Island. This is a trumped-up charge by a regime that has committed the crime of apartheid - a crime against humanity, according to the 1973 United Nations International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, which is ratified by more than 93 Members of United Nations. This crime against humanity is akin to genocide and war crimes. It is those who have committed the crime of apartheid who must be punished, not those who fought against this crime.

It is unfortunate that on the seventeenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising, the hands of the South African regime are still stained and dripping with the blood of the African people. Recently Edgar Mohapi was detained. He died in jail, shot in the head. The South African police said he was shot by mistake. Sibiya Sabata was also killed in jail. The prison wardens alleged he committed suicide. A well-known pathologist, Dr. Jonathan Gluckman, performed a post-mortem on Mr. Sabata. He established that he was shot in the back and that his wounds were not self-inflicted. Mr. Mohapi and Mr. Sabata were PAC supporters.

The victims of apartheid are being bombarded with the rhetoric that there are changes in South Africa. We say they are superficial and not fundamental enough to warrant the relaxation of measures and vigilance. For instance, Mr. de Klerk's regime has not ended the township violence. He does not treat the death of an African with the seriousness he attaches to every European death. In every other respect, the position of Africans has deteriorated since Mr. de Klerk came to power in South Africa. The South African regime

(Mr. Phako, PAC)

has always killed Africans, but the rate at which Africans are being killed is higher than at any other time in the history of apartheid. In 1992 alone, 20,135 Africans were killed. The number of Africans killed since 1989 is now estimated at 50,000, albeit that the media and vested interests keep playing down the figures because they clearly show there is genocide in the country.

The South African regime is a chameleon. When a chameleon changes its colours, that is not a change. It is camouflage. A chameleon always changes its colours when in danger in order to protect its own interests.

In March 1993, Mr. de Klerk admitted that the South African regime had nuclear weapons, but it had now destroyed them. No United Nations team has inspected and verified the destruction of these dangerous weapons.

Mr. de Klerk's own story on nuclear weapons is incomplete. Many expert nuclear physicists hold that he has been very economical with the truth. Documents relating to nuclear weapons might have altered before they were given to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The PAC is greatly concerned about the disposal of nuclear waste and the destructive consequences it can have on the environment. The PAC has demanded that Mr. de Klerk explain the following: the extent to which it has developed biological and chemical warfare and the extent to which this was used in the southern African region; the methods and geographical areas of nuclear-waste disposal; the names and whereabouts of the nuclear physicists who were involved; why the programme to discard nuclear weapons has been announced only now; and why the United Nations was not invited to verify the destruction of these weapons.

It must be brought to the attention of this body today that the South African forces have been implicated in 200,000 complaints of violence more

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

than APLA; 900 times more prosecutions than APLA; 200 times more convictions; and four reports condemning the South African police compared to one Goldstone provisional report. The Goldstone Commission report is itself based on hearsay evidence from the police and the regime's military intelligence. According to the law of evidence, these forces can be described only as hostile witnesses. Indeed, those who respect the rule of law and hold dear the principles of natural justice such as audi alteram partem - "hear the other side" - have dismissed the findings of the Goldstone Commission. After all, it was established by the South African regime.

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

The PAC agrees that the election date should be fixed. But it is important for the victims of apartheid and colonialism in South Africa to know what it is they will vote for. There are many reasons for this.

On 17 April 1990 Mr. de Klerk addressed the South African minority colonialist Parliament. Inter alia, he said:

"... there are really only three alternatives with which to replace the existing constitutional model ... they are partition, simplistic majority rule on the basis of one person, one vote or power sharing ... we believe that majority rule is not suitable for a country like South Africa because it will lead to the domination and suppression of minorities. This applies to a unitary system ...

"We are not prepared to destroy existing rights [for whites] or allow them to be destroyed. Anyone who believes that we will accept a dispensation in which the quality of existing liberties and rights is dismantled is mistaken. Those who enjoy full political rights at present are not prepared to bow out apologetically from the stage of history. On the contrary, a key role awaits them in any new dispensation. We shall not throw overboard the freedom and values that have been built over three centuries. It is also with this in view that I shall be going to the negotiating table ..."

For his part, Mr. Pik Botha, the regime's Foreign Minister, has said:

"The Government has received a mandate from whites to negotiate power-sharing ... If there was a deviation from this mandate, the Government would have to go to white voters."

The PAC has no mandate to negotiate power-sharing or interim government, but it has a mandate for a democratically elected Constituent Assembly to draw

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

up a Constitution leading to majority rule. In this it has the support of the African majority. According to a survey by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, 57 per cent of the Africans are against an interim government. The regime's objective is to retain the essentials of white power, such as accumulated privileges that the whites as a dominant racial group enjoy in terms of control of the economy, domination of the professions, higher skills, domination of the civil service and control over the decisive organs of the State. While willing to make room for Africans to enter the political domain, the regime wants to ensure that any power the African majority acquires will not tamper with the essentials of white domination.

The PAC has long advocated that negotiations in South Africa must take place under a neutral convener, and preferably in a neutral venue. In the current situation the regime has bugged PAC telephones, raided the offices of the PAC and removed documents, computers, membership lists and PAC positions relating to negotiations and other sensitive matters relating to election strategies. This is tantamount to rigging elections even before they start.

When the PAC asked for the principle of neutrality to be built into the negotiations, it was not trying to be difficult. Besides considerations of impartiality of the convener, negotiations in a neutral venue guarantee the safety and security of negotiators and non-interference with their private documents and sensitive information in their possession.

The principle of neutrality in negotiations has become universal. In Zimbabwe the Patriotic Front had Britain as a neutral mediator and Lancaster House was a neutral venue. No colonialist racist negotiator could bug their telephones, raid their offices and arrest the negotiators.

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

In Namibia the United Nations was neutral mediator between the people of Namibia and the South African regime, and New York was a neutral venue. United Nations Special Envoy Professor D. Caputo is mediator between the ousted President Jean Bertrand Aristide of Haiti and the military leaders.

The South African regime has no sovereignty in Azania. South Africa is a product of colonial aggression against the African people. It is a consequence of mutilated history and manipulation of international law by a colonial Power. It is no interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign State when the PAC and the dispossessed people of Azania request the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to oversee the negotiation process between the victims of apartheid and the South African regime.

The raids and arrests of PAC leaders vindicate the original demand by the PAC for a neutral venue and a neutral international chairmanship and convenership.

The onslaught on the PAC is a dangerous attempt to rig elections even before they begin. The South African regime's raid on the PAC offices and arrest of its leaders is aimed at reducing the political strength of the PAC. A leader of the Conservative Party is implicated in the killing of Mr. Chris Hani. But the offices of the Conservative Party have not been raided and their leaders have not been arrested and tortured.

The regime has not realized that the PAC can win any elections in South Africa that are not rigged. The most important change over the past year has been the rise in support for the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania among the majority of the oppressed Africans. The PAC has emerged as the most powerful electoral force. There is therefore panic in the regime's camp and among its backers.

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

The South African regime's swoop on the PAC on 25 May, the thirtieth anniversary of a day declared African Liberation Day by the OAU, is a disgrace. It exposes the true nature of this regime. At any rate, this desperate action by the South African regime coincided with what even the unkindest opponents of the PAC call

"a surge of support in black townships for the PAC ... which is proving increasingly popular among the Africans, especially the youth."

One writer, Liz Sly, observes:

"The pro-PAC graffiti is appearing daily in the African townships. PAC policies ... have attracted an unusual mix of high-brow intellectuals and disgruntled township youths."

The PAC has also been negotiating effectively with the regime. The regime realized that its Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) tactics, by which the African majority were being co-opted in a stage-managed exercise disguised as negotiations, cannot succeed with the PAC in the present negotiating forum. De Klerk's party is also down in the opinion polls. At the time de Klerk's police arrested PAC leaders, destroyed their office equipment and stole important PAC documents, the South African regime's strength stood at 30 per cent among the white voters, as against 67 per cent in May 1992.

The right-wing was therefore to be appeased by Mr. de Klerk's regime by arresting PAC leaders and treating the PAC as a banned organization, only two years after it was supposedly unbanned. The arrest of PAC leaders clearly shows what happens where there is no neutral convener and the regime is both player and referee.

(Mr. Pheko, PAC)

The PAC wishes to thank the Organization of African Unity, you, Sir, and many others who have issued public statements condemning the unlawful arrest and harassment of PAC leaders, many of whom are still in jail. Even the PAC Secretary-General, Mr. Benny Alexander, head of the PAC negotiating team, is facing fabricated charges by the regime and has been appearing in court.

Too much African blood has been spilled for freedom and justice in South Africa. African wars of national resistance against colonial aggression, and numerous national uprisings, such as Sharpeville, Langa and Soweto, are living testimony to this. If these heroic efforts by the people of Azania are exchanged for crumbs, the youth of Azania will feel betrayed and, like that of the people of Palestine, whose struggle the PAC supports, the Azanian struggle for national liberation and self-determination shall continue. There can be no peace where there is no justice and freedom. The victims of apartheid have great respect for, and confidence in, the United Nations. But they might resort to their own measures against the regime if they perceive that apartheid is being reformed and not eradicated, and that the South African regime is being rehabilitated at their expense.

The CHAIRMAN: I invite the Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations to make a statement.

Mr. AL-KIDWA (Palestine) (interpretation from Arabic): I have the honour of being here today with you on this day of the commemoration of the seventeenth anniversary of this International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa (Soweto Day).

First, I should like to thank you, Mr. Chairman, personally, and the other members of the Special Committee against Apartheid, for having invited us to participate in this formal commemoration, this important Day; we should like to thank you for the major efforts you have made in stepping up international action against apartheid and ensuring solidarity with the South African people so that they can attain the just and fair goals to which that heroic people aspires.

On behalf of our people, the Palestinians, and on behalf of the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, I should like to convey our total support for and our tireless solidarity with the fraternal people of South Africa. We support that people on the basis of our common principles and because the struggles that our two peoples are waging are absolutely the same; we also bear in mind the special relationship that exists between Israel and the South African regime.

There is no doubt that the people of South Africa have come a long way in their hard struggle and that we are now about to make major progress in this area despite the difficulties and the enormous obstacles that still exist and that must be confronted and overcome. The establishment of a non-racial, democratic South Africa with a majority regime and completely free of racial discrimination, of a country that can take its rightful place in Africa and within the international community: that is the dream, the noble goal that is

(Mr. Al-Kidwa, Palestine)

coming ever closer thanks to the struggle waged and the sacrifices made by the people of South Africa and thanks to the international support given to that people.

Nevertheless, we must stress that the last stage of this struggle is the hardest and the most complicated. We wish to state here that the international changes are positive, but are not yet comprehensive and have not yet had an effect on certain major issues, among others, South Africa and the question of Palestine. On the basis of those two facts, we therefore think that it is high time to step up our action and to deepen solidarity by increasing the support we give to the people of South Africa.

Allow me, Mr. Chairman, officially to convey condolences to the people of South Africa and to their political leaders on the death of Oliver Tambo, who was with us last year at the meeting of non-governmental organizations on the question of Palestine. We convey condolences also on the death of Chris Hani, whose assassination we vigorously condemn. He was a symbol representing all those who were fighters and who died defending noble goals.

We are certain that just causes will be victorious - and among them is the question of South Africa; let us maintain solidarity so as to attain our goals as soon as possible.

The CHAIRMAN: We have now heard the last statement in today's observance of the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of South Africa. We in the Special Committee continue to be appreciative of the support that States Members of the United Nations continue to give us in our efforts to carry out our mandate as the focal point of the international community in its determination to have apartheid completely brought to an end.

(The Chairman)

We are all the more grateful to the Permanent Representatives, delegates and other guests who have taken time from their very busy schedules to join us in marking today's observance. There are some Missions that have come here for the first time, and we take note of their interest in the work of the Special Committee.

We remain hopeful that South Africa's transition to a non-racial democracy will continue to enjoy sustained support from within the United Nations and from the international community as a whole.

Before adjourning the meeting, I wish to inform all members that many Heads of State or Government, Foreign Ministers and other Government officials have graciously sent messages to the Special Committee on this occasion. The Special Committee has received a message, for which we are very grateful, from President Abdou Diouf, current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, which was delivered by the Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations.

The Special Committee also received messages from the following Member States: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Suriname, the United Republic of Tanzania, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, and Zambia.

(The Chairman)

We have also received a joint message of solidarity from the American Baptist Convention and seven other non-governmental organizations, which are as follows: the Anglican Observer Mission, the Mozambique Solidarity Office, Sisters against South African Apartheid, the South African Educational Project, Women for Racial and Economic Equality, the Women's International Democratic Federation and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

We have received an additional message from the World Federation of Trade Unions.

I suggest that, in accordance with previous practice and taking into account the financial implications, the texts of these messages be published as a document of the Special Committee against Apartheid. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Committee agrees to that proposal.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.